

Message Text

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ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 INR-05 CIAE-00 PM-03

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FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3509

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY BAMADO

AMEMBASSY BISSAU

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

S E C R E T CONAKRY 1692

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

SUBJECT: GUINEAN INTERNAL UNREST

REF: CONAKRY 1614

1. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY ASSESSMENT OF GUINEAN INTERNAL SITUATION AS OF 1100 SEPT 15.

2. SEKOU TOURE HAS STILL NOT SET A CLEAR LINE AS REGARDS POPULAR DISTURBANCES OF AUGUST 27-28. BUT STILL IS TILTING TOWARD HARD MEASURES. BROAD PARTY-STATE INVESTIGATION OF EVENTS CONTINUES, AND IS NEARING COMPLETION ALTHOUGH PARTY HAS NOT YET "DRAWN CONCLUSIONS" FROM EVENTS.

3. ACCORDING TO AFRICAN DIPLOMAT CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH PRESIDENT'S CIRCLE, SEKOU TOURE RESEMBLES "WOUNDED BEAST." HIS PRIDE WAS SEVERELY INJURED BY OPEN DEFIANCE FROM

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MARKET WOMEN AND THEIR DEMANDS FOR FREER COMMERCE AND DIRECT DIALOGUE. IN RECENT DAYS TOURE HAS RETREATED DEEPER IN ISOLATION, REFUSING TO SEE MOST ADVISERS, ANY WOMEN, NOT

EVEN HIS SECRETARY. SEVERAL PRINCIPAL ADVISERS, INSOFAR AS POSSIBLE, HAVE GINGERLY BEEN COUNSELING HIM TO ESCHEW VIOLENT REACTION, AVOID CREATING MARTYRS, LET MATTERS WIND DOWN SLOWLY, SHOW

MAGNIMITY. BUT TOURE IS CHARACTERISTICALLY STUBBORN, HEADSTRONG, STILL PRONE TO ROOT OUT "TRAITORS" AND PUNISH SEVERELY AT LEAST SYMBOLIC HANDFUL SO AS TO KEEP "COUNTER-REVOLUTION" AT BAY AND MAINTAIN HOLD ON MASSES AMONG WHOM HIS CHARISMA NO LONGER NECESSARILY EXERTS ITS FORMER MAGIC.

4. TOURE'S PRINCIPAL LEIUTENANTS ARE MOVING APPREHENSIVELY, IN FEAR THAT HIS MOOD AGAIN IS LEADING HIM TO SEE ENEMIES EVERYWHERE AND TO HEED IRRESPONSIBLE DENUNCIATIONS AND POISON PEN LETTERS -- A MOOD WHERE NONE CAN FEEL SAFE.

5. TOURE RECENTLY TOLD A VISITING SIERRA LEONIAN DELEGATION, WHICH OFFERED HIM MORAL SUPPORT AFTER DISTURBANCES, THAT SOME GUINEAN EXILES HAD RETURNED TO FOMENT TROUBLE IN LEAGUE WITH BLACKMARKETEERS, BUT THAT SITUATION WAS UNDER CONTROL. (DELEGATES LATER REMARKED TO DIPLOMAT ABOUT TOURE'S PENCHANT FOR SEEKING OUT FOREIGN SCAPEGOATS).

6. AIDE TO PARTY POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBER GAVE CHARGE MUCH THE SAME PICTURE ON SEPTEMBER 14. AIDE, WHO HAS BEEN INVOLVED PARTTIME IN CONDUCTING INVESTIGATION, CLAIMED THAT MOST IF NOT ALL MARKET WOMEN WERE RELEASED FROM CAMP BOIRO ON SEPTEMBER 12 (LARGE NUMBERS HAVE BEEN DETAINED AT FRIA AND OTHER TOWNS AS WELL). (OTHER SOURCES INDICATE WOMEN STILL BEING HELD HOWEVER). TOURE'S LIEUTENANTS -- THOSE WITH LESS FEAR, E.G. ISMAEL TOURE, SECRET

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PRIMIN BEAVOGUI, AND NOW EVEN MOUSSA DIAKITE -- HAVE BEEN TRYING TO NUDGE HIM AWAY FROM SEVERE REACTION. ARGUMENTS IN INNER CIRCLE REPORTEDLY INCLUDE: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND MATERIAL PROGRESS OF GUINEA'S MASSES MUST NOW SUPERCEDE POLITICAL "STRUGGLE" AGAINST SO-CALLED ENEMIES; MASSES ARE WEARY OF CONTINUED TENSION; TOURE'S HISTORIC CREDENTIALS AS GREAT AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE FIGHTER ARE SECURE AND NEED NOT BE PROVEN FURTHER; TOURE HAS NOT REALLY TRAVELED OUTSIDE GUINEA FOR DECADE OR MORE -- WORLD HAS CHANGED, SO STRUGGLE MUST CHANGE; GUINEA HAS FRIENDS (NOT SOVIETS) WHO CAN REALLY HELP DEVELOPMENT.

7. ACCORDING TO SOURCE, DESIRABLE OUTCOME WOULD BE FOR TOURE TO LET INVESTIGATION PETER OUT, EMBRACE SOME PRACTICAL MEASURES TO APPEASE POPULACE, AND NOT SPILL BLOOD OF AGITATORS EVEN IF SOME TRADERS AND A FEW LEBANESE REALLY WERE EGGING ON MARKET WOMEN. BUT TOURE, SOURCE ADDED, IS STUBBORN, SET IN HIS WAYS, AND NO ONE CAN BE SURE HOW HE WILL FINALLY ACT. NO ADVISOR IS IMMUNE FROM AWAKENED WRATH. ONE "OUT" FOR TOURE WOULD BE TO RESHUFFLE LEADERSHIP OF LOCAL WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS, BUT HE IS PROBABLY UNWILLING TO LET IT GO AT THAT.

8. MEANWHILE, ON CONSILIATORY SIDE, CONAKRY MARKETS ARE BOOMING WITH OBVIOUS CONTRABAND GOODS, AND ECONOMIC POLICE REMAIN OUT OF ACTION. PRICES OF SOME GOODS HAVE ACTUALLY DROPPED, ALTHOUGH TIGHTENED BORDER CONTROLS MAY DRY UP INCREASED SUPPLY SOON.

9. PRESIDENT TOURE BROKE PUBLIC SILENCE ABOUT AUGUST 27-28 EVENTS ON SEPTEMBER 13 IN SPEECH TO RECENT UNIVERSITY GRADUATES. TOURE BLAMED EVENTS OF AUGUST 27 (HE IGNORED AUGUST 28 AND SHOOTING) ON "SMALL NUCLEUS" OF "UNREPRESENTATIVE PARTY WOMEN" IN CONAKRY'S FIFTH ARRONDISSEMENT PLUS "FIFTH COLUMN PREMEDITATION" AND "REACTIONARIES". MASS OF GUINEAN WOMEN, HE INSISTED, REMAIN FAITHFUL AND MILITANT. DESPITE "SUBVERSIVE MANIFESTATION", HE PROMISED THAT COMOUFLAGED "EXTERNAL AND CTERNALHPKNEMIES OF GUINEA" AND SABOTEURS" WILL BE CONFOUNDED AND CONDEMNED, AND
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"INSULT TO GUINEAN WOMEN" WILL FAIL. CENTRAL COMMITTEE WILL NOT FAIL TO SHOW WORLD ITS OPPOSITION TO "CRIMINAL SMUGGLERS" AND TO "RADICALIZE DEFENSE OF REVOLUTION."

10. PARTY-STATE JOURNAL HOROYA, CONTROLLED BY PARTY'S LEADING PRO-SOVIET RADICAL MAMADI KEITA, TOOK EVEN HARDER LINE IN SEPT 4-10 ISSUE, JUST OUT. LEAD EDITORIAL PLAYED ALL OLD PARANOIAC NOTES, BLAMING UNREAT ON ANTI-NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE, PRIVATE DEALERS, ANTI-REVOLUTIONARIES, OLD MERCHANTS, TRANSPORTERS AND PLANTERS, "BANA-BANAS", SMUGGLERS, CORRUPT CADRES INCLUDING ECONOMIC POLICE. HOROYA CALLED FOR "CLASS WAR NOT CLASS STRUGGLE" AND DENOUNCED ALSO FOREIGN DIPLOMATS ALLEGED TO BE SMUGGLING IN ANTI-REGIME TRACTS, FOREIGN RADIOS, COUNTERFEIT CURRENCY SABOTAGE, "IMPERIALIST POWERS", AND OTHER LONG FAMILIAR CRISIS TARGETS.
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